*565
517 of the time, visiting little and receiving the local gossip from
[546] their servants. Since the advent of movies, however, it has
become fashionable for husband and wife and sometimes the
[541] children to attend the show together. When the circus comes
[794] to town it is now common for them to go as a family at least
once. As a rule, however, church services are attended sep-
arately, the wives and daughters going together and the men
singly if at all, and standing in the back rather than sitting
[574] with the family. Dinners, card parties, or social gatherings
with friends in the house, such as are common to North Amer-
ican small towns, do not exist here at all. About the only trav-
eling these people do is to Salvador, where they stay with rel-
atives while they make short visits, go to the doctor, or go
shopping.

*565
871 Even the older members of Class B are less well educated
than those of Class A, and do not belong to families which are
nationally prominent. In many cases they have relatives in
Salvador, but in no case do they maintain a second home there.
Although their children may go to primary school in Vila Re-
côncavo, which the children of Class A would never do, they
are sent to Salvador for further education; and several of the
present generation are studying for degrees in law and med-
*565 icine. As has already been pointed out, this class engages in
[571] little social activity in common with Class A, and in almost
none with rural Class B persons. Daughters of families be-
[867] longing to this class are carefully chaperoned and have little
[582] freedom. Their lives are spent at home, sewing, embroidering,
and helping their mothers in the house. Their prospects for
*565 marriage are poor. This applies also to the schoolteachers
582 who are sent to the town and who also belong to this class.
875 There is little opportunity for them to marry in Vila Recôn-
cavo unless they accept a social inferior, which commonly
happens to rural schoolteachers in Brazil. "Felipe," as the
schoolteacher's husband is generally known, is always a "no-
good" supported by his wife. There are two cases in Vila Re-
côncavo of local upper-class wives who work--they are both
schoolteachers, supplementing their husbands' incomes and
alleviating the dullness of their lives.

*565 Class C in the rural area consists of the field hands and the
factory workers, who constitute the major part of the pop-
ulation. There are no "pure whites" in this group, but a scat-
[184] tering of "whites of the land." In general the factory workers
consider themselves superior to the agricultural laborers;

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazillans SOll

[City of Salvador]

565 Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese
[197] vernacular, with a limited vocabulary and numerous errors
[489] in grammar. Many words of African or native Indian origin
[771] are commonly heard. Transport is primitive. Here the fe-
[794] tish cult, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs associated with it, gains its most zealous and faithful devotees. Here, cut off quite sharply from participation in the upper levels of European culture, live that portion of the population which the upper classes refer to as *o povo*, and who think of themselves as *os pobres* ("the poor").

The social gulf between the *pobres* of the valleys and the *ricos* of the ridges is wide and not easy to bridge. This is, of course, to be anticipated in a society with an aristocratic tradition whose upper circles still look somewhat askance upon manual labor and have always regarded education, family connection, and "good breeding" as indices of class.
[6068] Attitudes in this respect have changed little since the time
[567] when the abolitionist Anselmo da Fonseca felt it necessary to apologize for including the name of "a man of the people," a humble Negro shoemaker, among the prominent upper-class abolitionists of Bahia, arguing that "intelligence, patriotism, and truth are not the privilege of any one class" and explaining that this particular individual had been more useful to the abolition cause than many "more noble."

565 The upper classes habitually refer to members of the lower
186 classes as *trabalhadores* ("laborers"), *operarios* ("workers"), or *o povo baixo* ("common people") and humorously caricature them by a cartoon character known as Zé Povinho, an
[867] illiterate, stupid, and unprepossessing lout. To their children they often direct such phrases as "não seja gentinha" ("don't be like common people"), "não tenha modos de gentinha" ("don't take up the manners of common people"), "não ligue a (or *para*) povo miudo" ("don't attach yourself

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

565
186
[867]

to vulgar persons"), "não faça caso de gente baixa" ("don't mind low people"), "não dê attenção á gentinha" ("don't pay any attention to common people"), and "não se incommode com a gente baixa" ("don't trouble yourself about common people"). Of themselves, the upper classes use the rather general expressions *as altas rodas* ("the upper circles"), *grand monde*, and the "élite."

The lower classes refer to the upper classes as *os "chefões"* ("the big shots"), *os donos da gente* ("the owners of the people"), *os grandes graudos* ("the illustrious great"), *os manda-chuvas da cidade* ("the rainmakers of the city"; i.e., those who can do anything), *ricaços* ("the plutocrats"), or merely *os brancos* ("the whites").

361
565

Although this rather simple pattern in which ridges and valleys appear as contrasted residential areas is, in general, characteristic of the entire city, it is modified in a few minor instances. The upper-class suburb of Barra, for example, lies low on the seacoast, albeit well swept by the refreshing sea breeze; while the ridges (as well as the valleys) in the less accessible areas outside the main portion of the city are covered with the huts of the lower class. In the old outmoded four-to-seven-story buildings (relics of Bahia's former splendor), which hedge about the central portion of the city and lie either on top, or well up toward the top, of the central ridges, are crowded together in something approaching slum conditions hundreds of the city's poor.[11] But in general the pattern of the city conforms quite closely to that which has been described.

[362]

As one moves about the different residential areas, he

[563]*

[11] For an intimate glimpse into the life of this latter area see Jorge Amado, *Suor* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936). The locale of these interesting sketches is an old building at No. 68 on the Pelourinho which fronts on the triangular *praça* where the old slave whipping-post used to stand.

[SALVADOR]

/29 cont./

829
*563 Colored persons often repeat that "color is a mere accident," an expression that goes back very far in Bahia. A famous dark mulatto intellectual, president of an important scientific association, stated in a speech, in which he denounced a decision of the League of Nations on the discriminatory treatment to be applied to the human races, that: "To discuss the rights of man, even human dignity, as if they depended on an accident, that of color, is to repudiate centuries of struggle among the most glorious in the history of civilization" (1).

[113]

1. Teodoro Sampaio, in Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, No. 45, 1919, p. 179.

A black judge, who is at the head of an association of colored people, also considers that color "is an accident to which one
• [567] pays no attention among us." That is the reason why few families of the highest classes /30/ of society develop in their children an awareness of their own type, or, if they do, they never associate with this notion a feeling of inferiority or resentment. A Black relates that he did hear his parents make comments about the disadvantages of being of dark color, but the way in which they did it was neither bitter nor hostile. A pardo educator believes that it is not necessary to conceal from the child a feeling about his color, for "that, being purely physical, is of no importance." The attitude of a girl, likewise parda, whose father, White, but married to a mulattress, does not like people of dark color, is different; she herself does not like them, although she claims to feel no shame about her "quality." Her feeling of inferiority is clearly revealed when she says that she has a friend, son of Syrians, who wants to marry her, although of a "race superior" to her own.

829
*563 Among certain individuals the consciousness of class goes be-
565 yond the consciousness of race. A mulatto official relates that when he was a child he did not feel any different from his companions at school and play from a city in the interior of the State; it was only when his family became very poor that he realized